

A
R E V I E W
OF THE 1509/1141
Proposed Naturalization

OF THE
J E W S;
B E I N G

An Attempt at a dispassionate Enquiry
into the present State of the Case,

With some Reflexions on

GENERAL NATURALIZATION.

THE SECOND EDITION.

By a Merchant who subscribed the Petition
against the Naturalization of the Jews.

L O N D O N:

Sold by J. WAUGH in *Lombard-street*, and in the
Pamphlet Shops. 1753.

REVUE

OF THE





TO THE
Right Honourable — —.

SIR,



ADDRESSES of this kind are of so singular a nature, it is difficult for the author to pay honor to the patron, and at the same time to do justice to himself and his subject. Persons in your station, are seldom courted with any homage, which is consistent with the nature of opposition.

THE manner in which I dissent, may however induce some to imagine, that instead of pleading my cause with zeal, I only make it an occasion

iv DEDICATION.

to offer incense to your power: Unhappy people whose deviations from virtue have rendered so much dependent on *one*, yet will hardly believe *he* can be entitled to the tribute of disinterested praise! Have the Great in office no title to the enjoyment of the true prerogative of substantial merit? Whilst we are sensible that there is no person without many imperfections, shall we not make great allowance for men in public life? If, upon the whole, the virtuous scale preponderates; as we have good reason to believe, we shall *receive* favor *hereafter*; we ought to *show* it *here*. And what just grounds are there to imagine, that the happiness of this nation, is not the prime object of your ambition?

With regard to the subject of this pamphlet; is it to be conceived that

DEDICATION. v

Mr. ——— could entertain a single thought of favoring the *Jews*, but as such favor might advance the *general welfare*? the conclusion then is very plain, that the moderation and benevolence, by which you are so much distinguished, were your chief inducements to subscribe to this measure.

Whether the end proposed can be answered, is what we are now to consider. But we shall never discover the truth, if under a notion of *opposing* unpopular measures, we become the *dupes* of a party interest. To correct in some instances, argues greater sagacity, than the not committing *mistakes*. In the *first case* we generally struggle with a strong prepossession: In the *last*, the supposed wisdom oftentimes arises from no better cause than a supine inactivity.

But

vi DEDICATION.

But whilst other men are gratifying their inclinations *in their way*, I have as good a right to indulge myself *in mine*. I am constant to my principles and opinion, with regard to the matter in debate, yet I have not the less pleasure in declaring my veneration of your character, and the sincere respect with which I am,

S I R,

your most obedient

humble servant,

Tunbridge-Wells,
August 5, 1753.

A MERCHANT, &c.



A
R E V I E W
OF THE
Proposed Naturalization
OF THE
J E W S, &c.

C H A P. I.

Introduction. General reflexions on naturalization. The expediency of attending to our domestic Oeconomy, to answer the end proposed by Naturalization.



WE have now had time to consider the arguments on both sides the question, relating to the naturalization of the *Jews*. On the one side we have seen several matters advanced as *facts* which are really *no facts*; and several mistakes

mistakes have been entertained with regard to the *supposed importance* of the *Jews*. The argument hath been also treated in a loose manner, and with little attention to the *importance* of the subject. Instead of a sober and steady remonstrance, we have also seen a spirit of clamor conjured up; and as a natural effect of it, much hath been thrown out, as little consistent with our character, as a *polite* and *humane* people; as injurious to the tenderness which *christianity* inspires. I speak of that part which has been really handled in an improper manner, and not of every thing which hath been said on either side of the question.

As the different views and interests of men lead them different ways; they are apt to swerve from the real merit of their cause, as if they meant from *false* extremes to find out the *true* medium. To this purpose one may observe an humorous remark in a letter lately addressed to the public, concerning the marriage bill. In this piece, which seems to be wrote by a very able penman, lawyer, and logician, the author supposes an application to parliament to be made by fan-stick-makers (whose employment is of late fallen off) concluding that *they* would be as strong in their expres-

expressions of danger to the *religion, liberty* and *commerce* of their country, as the remonstrances have been against the naturalization of the *Jews*.

The *Jews* people being under such particular circumstances with regard to their *customs, manners, and religion*; the subject of their naturalization hath of course been treated in a very different manner, from that of any design of the like nature, with regard to *christians*. Before I proceed any farther, I will be bold to say, that I not only imagine the bill in question will not produce any *bad effect*; but I believe it will produce a *good one*. In the *first place* I take it for granted, that *no Jew* will be naturalized in consequence of it; and in the *second*, that the *Jews* themselves will have the wisdom never to make so absurd a request again. But whether these supposed effects will arise from the clamor made against the Bill, or from some better cause; it must be clear, that no man of sentiment, nor any lover of his country, ought ever to *wish*, much less to *solicit*, that *clamor* might *prevail without reason*; or, if we could substitute any consistent rule of conduct in its place, that it might ever *prevail at all*.

Some of the warmest advocates for the naturalization of the *Jews*, pleaded with no less zeal for a *general naturalization*, when this subject was before the parliament. It was once imagined, and not without foundation in the reason of the thing, that the proposed *particular naturalization* of the *Jews*, had no less for its object than a *general naturalization*. Whether this was *really* the case or not is not material. I shall indulge myself in making some reflexions upon this principle as introductory to our subject. The argument hath been warmly urged by many *real patriots* and well-wishers to their country, from the consideration of the supposed great utility to be derived, from the diminution of the present price of labor ; and with the view of supplying our navies and armies with men. *Others*, equally *lovers* of their country, but less speculative in their notions, or less sanguine in their expectations, argue from a *fact* which is undeniable ; *viz.* “ That
 “ we have great numbers of people in this
 “ island who are supported by charity ; either
 “ because the means of supporting themselves
 “ by the labor of their hands, is not afforded
 “ them ; or, that the wisdom of the legisla-
 “ ture hath not yet found out a way to *com-*
 “ *pel* them to work ;” consequently these op-
 ponents to a *general nnturalization* say, “ That
 “ our

“ our domestic oeconomy ought first to be
 “ regulated, before we can even *judge* of the
 “ expediency of introducing a number of fo-
 “ reigners *at a venture*.”

It hath been urged, indeed with some appear-
 ance of reason, “ That to conquer the deep-
 “ rooted laziness of a people, it is necessary to
 “ bring in examples of industry, and the good
 “ effects of it before their eyes; and that the
 “ admission of foreigners, who settle in this
 “ country, is so far from taking the bread *out*
 “ of the mouths of the natives, that it is put-
 “ ting bread *into* the mouths of those who
 “ otherwise in a short time must have none.”
 They add further, that experience hath
 taught us, what great benefits may be de-
 rived from giving countenance to foreigners.

Here we may observe that *one* point is ta-
 ken for granted, which remains to be proved;
 and *another* supposes that things are at present
 as they were formerly, which I apprehend is
 not the case. Every nation is now applying
 themselves to the cultivation of their *natural*
 advantages; and improving all the various arts
 of life, in order, as much as possible, to esta-
 blish an *independency*, by the means which are
 in their *own hands*. If *they* act wisely with re-

gard to *their* situation ; if notwithstanding the great heights to which we have already carried our improvements, we have yet a *great deal* of work upon our hands, and *great care* and circumspection are become necessary to the support of our domestic oeconomy, independent of foreign succours, we certainly ought to make *more vigorous efforts* towards *this end*, before we *enter* upon the consideration above mentioned.

Were we to search out the causes of the idleness and extravagancies of our own *people*, we should find the distemper lies too deep to be cured, by the expedient of introducing *strangers* among them. If we have already more people than we have *wisdom* or *abilities* to employ, we may invite foreigners to eat *that bread* of which there is already no superfluity. Besides the *distinction* of *foreigner* and *foreigner*, is as necessary, as that between idle and industrious natives. It must be granted that the acquisition of manufacturers, who are *skilful* as well as *industrious*, can hardly fail of producing good to this country, and we are ready to receive them when they come. As to foreign merchants, when they apprehend that their *profits*, or *pleasures*, will receive any encrease, they come to us of course. Whilst
Gen-

Gentlemen of property who prefer to live among us, have no temptation from the notion of *general naturalization*. We are then brought back to the *multitude* of common people. Here we find that we rather want *new trades*, and *new manufactures*, than *new people* to be employed in those we already possess. If the price of labor *should be* decreased, the charge of supporting a numerous *additional poor*, must add a weight to the price of the thing manufactured. If *still greater* numbers of our people become a dead burthen, they will indeed *depend* on *strangers* even for their bread. This is the condition of some of those nations whose riches arise, not from the *productions of the earth*, with regard to the necessaries of life; but from the metals which are dug from the bowels *of it*. But whilst there is so great wealth in a country as in this, I apprehend that instead of *lowering* the price of labor by means of foreigners, we should rather *raise* it; not only on account of the *superiority* such foreigners would acquire, by our dependance on them, but, as I have already observed, by the *encrease* of *our own poor*. Thus the *general force* of the argument still turns against a *general naturalization*.

Expe-

Experience proves that our own countrymen, however *idle* and *profligate*, and consequently *poor*; such who are really so, will *eat* and *drink*, and *continue their species*: there is but *one remedy* to prevent it, and that is to *hang* all such persons. This *remedy* would most certainly be worse than the *disease*. What then is to be done, but to use *lenitives* and *emollients*? By *degrees* we may work are formation. The influence and example of the *rich* can render the *poor* useful. There are hardly *ten* persons in the whole kingdom, so *wicked* and *abandoned*, as to be totally incapable of amendment. As in a *religious sense* there is joy in heaven at the conversion of *one* sinner; so in *a political light*, the conversion of *one* native member of the commonwealth, to become useful by his *labor*, is an acquisition of *great* consequence; perhaps *greater* than that of half a dozen *strangers*. We are to consider then how to reform those abuses, which thus lead us to seek for a supply of *people from abroad*; the natural effect of our endeavours, will be a *great* encrease of our *own people*.

It is granted that a number of working *poor*, such as perform the drudgery and useful parts of life, do constitute the chief riches of a nation; and not simply a *number of mouths* to
 I make

make a large consumption. The method most agreeable to our *constitution*, and least repugnant to the *genius* of our fellow-subjects, I apprehend will be this;

First to discourage the use of *spiritous liquors*, and such things as are hurtful to health, and productive of idleness. The *incredible number* of public houses ought to be restrained *: they are a *bane* to the common people of this nation. In those villages where there is *no publick house*, there is *no drunkenness*, nor other effects which ruin the constitution: on the contrary, there is one continued scene of *industry, labor, and delightful rest*, of which I have lately had an opportunity of seeing a very *striking* proof.

The next article is the particular countenance and encouragement which ought to be given by *gentlemen of fortune*, in their respective countries, to render *matrimony* more universal

* But how are we to raise money to support the state? May we answer by asking other questions? Hath it been yet put to a *fair issue*, if the legislature *can* levy monies by *means* which have no such pernicious effects on the *health* and *morals* of the people? and are we to exist for a *few* years; or do we extend our views to *future* ages?

sal among the *poor*; whilst *themselves* shew an example, by the sobriety of their own lives.

The *third* consideration is *education*, which is the great source of *public* as well as *private* virtue; and no less in *low* than in *high* life. The neglect of this is the chief cause of those mischiefs by which we are distressed. There is then no kind of charity more *glorious* in itself, or more *beneficial* to the *public*, than the relief of an industrious parent of many children, at a crisis of their fortune. Their virtuous labor and frugality, may by such means, be transmitted down to their children, who will be thus rendered useful and worthy members of the community. But if they are once reduced to the necessity of eating the *bread of idleness*, at the *public* charge, how mean soever that bread may be, they become, with regard to *industry*, what those who have been publicly whipped generally are, in respect to their *morals*. The sense of shame in both cases is extinguished. Instead of *cherishing* a principle of sobriety and diligence, we *nurse* a habit of idleness; and with the want of industry, piety, and every social virtue must languish and decay.

It

It is confessed, that *one* of the great evils under which this nation labors, is the *heavy* charge occasioned by our *numerous poor*. This is an evil of so *complex* a nature, that the wisdom of the legislature, hath not yet discovered any *practicable expedient* for the removal of it. Indeed as the *support* of the community, upon the *present plan*, must ultimately terminate in the *virtue* of *individuals*; I do not conceive, that there *can* be any *effectual remedy*, without the vigilance and attention of the *rich* and *benificent* to succour the distressed, at such seasonable times, and in such a proper manner, that whilst we *relieve* the *private* object, the *charity* may, by a *direct* and *immediate* consequence, *preserve* the *public* also. The breeding up a *multitude* of people to *prey* upon the industrious husbandman, and manufacturer, must be *ruinous*. Unless these people do *their share* of labor, they can serve no other purpose than to keep pace *in their way* with the luxury and corruption of the *higher ranks*; and *both together*, must, in the course of time, subvert the best constitution in the world.

Those readers who are of this way of thinking, may immediately reduce the *theory* into

C

practice,

practice, * and prove to themselves the analogy between *temporal* and *eternal* felicity. They may at once advance the interest and happiness of their *Country*, and remit part of their riches to *heaven*, where their *hearts* certainly ought to be, if they desire to be there themselves.

Here then we may reason upon *naturalization* from *real life*; and from an instance which every *child* may comprehend, which every *man* will commiserate, and every *christian* relieve, bring the argument *home*. Here
we

* The circumstance I allude to, happened very lately and was mentioned in the public papers.

Mrs. *Watkins*, of *Walthamstowe*, in *Essex*, had the misfortune to lose her husband the 8th of *July* last, by his falling under his own cart. She is left with seven young children and big with the eighth. He rented a farm of forty pounds a year, and was industrious in his employment; but the charge of supporting such a numerous family, so far prevented the increase of his stock, that he hardly left his widow sufficient to pay the rent which was due. This accident has drawn the attention of several of the neighbouring gentlemen, and other pious and noble benefactors. It may be hoped it will still engage others to enable this poor woman to go on with her farm, which by the assistance of her brother, she designs to do. She has hitherto brought up her children in the *cleanest*, most *decent* and *proper* manner imaginable for her circumstances; and to all appearance will continue to support them in the same manner, without their becoming any burthen to the public.

we may see so many *prostitutes* who prey upon the thoughtless youth, prevent marriage, and obstruct the encrease of the people, rendered virtuous by being bred to labor. We may also figure to ourselves *robbers* and *murderers*, who are lost to God, themselves, and the community, made sober husbandmen and mechanics, by the virtuous example of their parent, and the effect of a happy education. What we may naturally compute their encrease to be in thirty or forty years, is within the reach of every common capacity.

Thus we shall dry up the *source* of the calamities under which we languish; and render our *poor*, the most *useful*, instead of the most *burthensome* and dangerous part of the inhabitants of this island. Thus we shall breed up children in *bumble life*, to be an honor to their parents, their country, and benefactors. Thus we ought to be watchful to teach them to *till* the ground, or to *fight* our battles; to be *zealous* of our country's good, and to worship God, in the profession of the purest religion in the world. Shall we then prefer the amusing ourselves with a refined speculation, concerning the encrease of subjects by a *general naturalization*; and like the dog in

the *Fable*, lose the *substance* by catching at a *shadow*.

The encouragement of protestantism in *Ireland**, with that zeal which becomes good christians, true protestants and sound politicians, is another circumstance of the highest moment. Might we not expect to receive from thence such supplies of men, for the *improvement of the arts of peace*; and for the *support of war*, as would render our speculations upon *general naturalization*, as unnecessary, as we have hitherto found them ineffectual? whereas by our neglecting our interest in this circumstance, our enemies procure those supplies which are ready upon all occasions to act against us, as they have more than once done with great success †;

Could the fashion be introduced, we might receive a farther encrease of useful people. A much less number of *Servants* than we entertain, might answer all the ends of *domestic oeconomy*, and produce a much greater tranquillity and satisfaction in *great families*; but

* See the scheme of the incorporated society of *Dublin*, to which considerable donations are made, but very short of the importance of it. It is amazing that any man, even of a small fortune, shall pretend to any regard to his country, and not subscribe to this political as well as pious charity.

† Witness *Fontenoy*.

but *this* we must pass over. *Sumptuary laws* are become necessary to abridge our *vanities*; but the great freedom which we enjoy, renders us repugnant to such *laws*; we must therefore wait till the *state* is in greater *distress*; or in other words, we must approach yet nearer the *precipice*, before we open our eyes, and see our danger.

To *these reasons* might be added, that we have *something* more to be watchful of, than barely a supply of our *present necessities*. *Liberty* is of a very tender and delicate nature, subject, as our modern histories prove, to *changes* and *revolutions*. Our *ancestors* have often *bled* for it, and have been tenacious of keeping up a *spirit* of national honor and bravery, even among the *lower classes* of the people. Would a *general naturalization* tend to strengthen or enervate that *spirit*? If such *naturalization* brought in but a *small* number of people amongst us, it would signify very little; if it introduced a *great* number, it might create *great* confusion. We have reason to judge from the temper of our people, that a clashing interest would arise between *natives* and *foreigners*; and probably between the *foreigners* of different nations also. We are already too much disposed to *party* and
faction;

faction; and altho' under arbitrary governments such *evils* are not much to be *dreaded*; yet *with us* they ought to be *guarded* against.

If what I have advanced should be rather deemed *ideal* than *practicable*, we can only appeal to the *hearts* of individuals: we shall soon discover that men of *fortune* and *leisure*, might easily reduce these notions into practice, and reap the glorious fruits of them. Examples of piety, generosity, and public love, tempered with such wholesome severities, as particular occasions render necessary, *must* have their proper effect. It cannot be too often repeated that the want of *Examples*, and the erroneous conduct of the *rich*, render so many of the *poor* useless: it is not the want of *foreign* succours, which makes the nation *languish*. If the *sublime notions* of national honor, and public love, are *really* become *obsolete*; I am afraid that the *mean self-love* of individuals, tho' it may supply a *different principle* by which the *state* is supported *for the present*, cannot answer our purpose *very long*. We *must* bring these *notions* again in *fashion*, or *farewell liberty*! If *she* takes up her rest amongst us for half a century longer, it will be a greater miracle than the *Romish* church can boast of.

Thus

Thus far I have said, as it has a connexion with our present subject, and in a presumption that only those whose thoughts were *inclined to a general naturalization*, could ever entertain any design of *naturalizing Jews*. If a *general naturalization* was to take place, in consequence of which the *Jews* might be included; the *opponents* of this project would be disarmed of *some* of their arguments; and yet, as none of the *Jews* are husbandmen, manufacturers, mechanics, soldiers, or sailors, *they*, of all mankind, have the least title to *naturalization*.

C H A P. II.

The antient state of the Jews. Some of the prophecies concerning them, which discountenance the naturalization propos'd.

OUR business now is to enquire, if it is consistent with *our religion* as well as our honor, and our politics, to naturalize *Jews*. For this purpose we may consider the subject in an enlarged view, with regard to the prophecies previous to their great *national crime* of crucifying the *Lord of life*; and their *national punishment* in consequence of that

un-

unparalled act of iniquity. From hence we may *possibly* be led to think, that as they are not suffered to establish any *Government* of their own ; nor permitted to *incorporate* with any other nation ; therefore they ought not to *be naturalized*.

Their great lawgiver *Moses*, and the prophets also, did most plainly foretel the misfortunes which would befall the *Jews*. Whether with regard to the *calamities* they suffered in their several captivities, or the *total dissolution* of their *government* ; what was *predicted* of them is most clearly verified. “ Thou shalt become an *astonishment*, a *proverb* and “ a *by-word* amongst *all* nations, whither the “ Lord shall lead you *.” “ The Lord shall “ cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: Thou shalt go out *one way against* “ *them*, and flee *seven ways before them* ; and “ shall be removed to all the kingdoms of the “ earth †.” “ And I will *deliver* them to be “ removed into all the kingdoms of the “ earth †.” In fact we do find the *Jews*, thus sentenced, have been not only captives, but distressed, persecuted and slaughtered beyond any other people since the beginning of the world.

Why

* Deut. xxviii. ver. 37. † Deut. xxviii. ver. 25. ‡ Jer. xxiv. ver. 9.

Why this has so happend, may be accounted for upon the common principles by which we are *permitted* to judge of the divine conduct ; and the natural effects of causes. Was there ever such an instance of the depravity and corruption of men, as among the *Jews*? These people, were so highly favored, that even the *effulgent* presence of the *deity* was locally displayed to them: the *oracles* of the *almighty* were declared : his *pleasure* was made known to this once selected nation. Yet such was their repugnance to the terms of their own felicity, that this *distinguished favor* and *indulgence*, became the occasion of their *crime* and *offence*. We see how *extremely* averse they were to the reception of the *Messiah*: and how their iniquity in *rejecting* him, was punished with a severity, proportioned to the *mercy* which had been shown them. In what an *irresistibly* plaintiff and *melodious* strain, doth our *Savior* mourn over them ! “ O *Jerusalem, Jerusalem*, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how *often* would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not ! behold your house is left unto you desolate !” The conduct of *his* life, so amazingly

D

mazingly beneficent, so *replete* with the mercy of a God; yet did it not open their eyes. Not the *astounding* circumstances of his death could awaken them from their *lethargy* of iniquity. Not the *sympathizing pangs* of nature, nor all the *copious streams* of mercy which *flowed* from his wounds, could prevail on them to acknowledge him, as the *Messiah*.

Thus did these *infatuated people* give proof of the *greatest perverseness*; and demonstrate the *biggest* instance of human error, which ever happened in the world. And what was the consequence of it after the death of our *Savior*? Their *rebellion* against the *Roman* government was the means used by divine providence, to work that destruction, which they had thus merited. They had filled up the *measure* of their iniquity: their abominations were become *intolerable*: and in the ordinary course of providence, nothing less could happen to them, *as a state*, than their *total* destruction.

After the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, we are told they were reduced to the *hard necessity* of paying a tax, toward the support of the *Heathen* worship. But their punishment did not stop here. In less than fifty years after the

the destruction of *Jerusalem*, a further rebellion against the *Roman* arms, under *Trajan*, cost them the lives of many thousands. In a few years after this, they again rebelled against *Adrian*, *Barchochebas* their leader pretending to be the *Messiah*. This rebellion was not suppressed 'till almost all *Palestine* fell a prey to the *Roman* arms, and near 600,000 *Jews* perished on this occasion. After that time, for near three hundred years, they were treated with such severity, that they were not even permitted to look towards *Jerusalem* from any eminence; yet in the time of *Constantine*, they rais'd new troubles and fresh slaughter ensued.

Thus did the divine providence permit the *Jewish nation* to be brought to confusion. It is true that the most potent monarchies, of the earth have been long since dissolved. The *Babylonians*, the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans* have hardly left any *vestiges* of that splendor and power of which they were once possessed. These nations have been lost in the ravages of time, or incorporated with other people who became their conquerors. But the circumstances of the *Jews* always have been, and still are peculiar to them. May we not reasonably conclude from what we see,

that it is the will of providence, they should be preserved as a *distinct people*, never to be incorporated with other nations, whilst they continue in the same faith. The same miraculous and amazing conduct which has been shewn towards them, in their being first selected to establish the worship of the *true God*, as he was then pleas'd to make his *Will* known, to all appearance will be continued to mankind, by the *Jews* being instrumental to *some further* great end of his providence. The *probability* at least, is on this side of the question. So far is their *history* from countenancing their *naturalization*, that every circumstance of it, as well as the conduct of every nation in the world, pleads very strongly *against* it. The *Jews* are opposed to all the *other nations* of the world ; but most of all to *christians*. And among the *christian nations* they are opposed to *us*, whose government will not admit of their *naturalization*, as I shall attempt to prove in my next chapter.

C H A P. III.

The naturalization of the Jews inconsistent with the christian religion, and repugnant to the constitution of Great Britain.

T H E R E is nothing in which mankind differ so much as in their *religious tenets*. As every man is in this instance his own sovereign, in a more absolute degree than any earthly king ; and accountable only to God, we ought to be very tender how we challenge *others* for *opinions* merely because they do not agree with *our own*. With regard to *laws*, there must however be a strong connexion between the *religious* and *civil* interest of a *state*. There is also *one great article* necessary to be *acknowledged*, without which men are subject to be hunted from society, as the most noxious of all animals. It will be readily concluded, that I mean the being of a *God*, and consequently the *immortality* of the soul. The *Jews* believe both in common with us ; and yet with such a *distinction*, that we are left bewildered in a *labyrinth*, and confounded in *error*, without the acknowledgement of *that article* which *they* flatly deny. If *Jesus Christ*

Christ is not *divine* in nature, *Christianity* falls to the ground ; and all the *glorious hopes* we derive from thence, vanish like a dream in the night.

Ought we not then to be very careful of the *smallest* advance towards an *incorporation* with those, who not only *deny our God and Saviour*, but whose faith leads them to think, that the same *Jesus Christ* whom we worship as *God*, was really an *impostor* ? *Mahommed* taught better things than these ; and monstrous as the doctrine of this *Arabian* is, he doth *great honor* to the *author* of our religion, compared with the opinion of the *Jews*.

But to consider religion *at large* : this sacred name, though often *prostituted* to the purposes of wordly glory, yet has it ever *influenced* the *politics* of nations, even when the corruption of their manners seem to have estranged their hearts from God. Religion has indeed been sometimes divided from *politics* ; and where the *latter* hath promised any *worldly* advantages, things have appeared through a *false medium* : thus the *understanding* as well as the *passions* having received a *false* bias, a very erroneous *association of ideas* hath ensued.

In

In a case of so critical a nature as this before us, we *must* have recourse to *religion*; many who appear in *defence* of the *naturalization*, plead for the cause of *christianity*, as well as that of *politics*. They urge the consideration of that charity which the doctrine of *Christ* so strongly inculcates. They recommend the *benevolence* which the *great author* of our faith hath taught us. Concerning the crucifixion of our Savior they observe: "that this very act of the *Jews* was to answer the wise and good ends of that providence which is to save us as *christians*;" adding, "if it may not with truth be said, that provided it *was* against the ends of providence, it *would* not have been *possible* for the *bill* to pass." The *former* observation must be granted, but it proves nothing with regard to our present argument. The evidence which the *Jews* resisted, according to the common notions of mankind concerning justice, must have condemned them. The *fact* is, that *God* was pleased to punish them on this account; and it is reasonable to conclude, that their *national* punishment will not cease, till, *as a nation*, they are converted to *christianity*. As to the question concerning the bill: if the *intention* of the legislature can
either

either not be answered *at all*, or proved to be attended with several evils ; it ought not to be carried into execution. Thus this question is replied to, as much as, I apprehend, *such questions* can be answered.

Another religious reason in behalf of the *naturalization* of *Jews* is this ; “ That the Saviour of the world when under his passion and suffering, set the behavior of the *Jews* on that occasion, to the account of their ignorance, praying his father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.’ This *was* the declaration of *our blessed Saviour* ; this, without doubt, *was* the *genuine language* of the Redeemer of the world : but still it proves nothing ; for neither from the *gospel*, nor *reason*, nor *fact*, are we led to believe that their crime *was* forgiven them ; nor have we any authority to *act* towards them *as if* it was *pardoned*.

There is certainly a great distinction between being *passive*, by *suffering* the *Jews* to live among us ; and *making a law* to establish them. The *Jews*, I conceive, are not entitled to *naturalization*, for two plain reasons ; the *first* is because they *are Jews* ; the *next* because they *are not christians*. The charity which

which *christianity* inspires, doth certainly *allow* of the *Jews* living among us, *unpersecuted, unmolested*. So long as *they* do not any thing injurious to the repose of the *state*, we do nothing to disturb them. But I apprehend that *christianity* doth equally *disallow* of our making a *law* which *enervates*, if it does not *counteract*, the first principle, on which our government is established.

I will not undertake to say, that the same *civil polity* by which we are governed, could not *possibly exist*, were we of a different faith from that of *Christ*; nor is it I think material to our present argument. It is really a *fact* that our religion as *christians* and *protestants*, and our *civil polity* as they now stand, are *interwoven*. And I think it would be too dangerous an experiment to *try* if they *would exist*, was any *change* to happen to either.

If we trace *freedom* and *protestantism* to their source, we shall be led to think that they *would not* exist separately. Or if we consider *true christianity*, as we profess it, as the only *true religion* of mankind, with regard to their *common rights*, we shall also incline to believe, that the *temporal* and *eternal inte-*

rest of men are inseparably connected. The consideration of those *common rights*, though it doth seem to teach us the *doctrine of toleration*; yet it by no means weakens the necessity of such distinctions among men, as the support of *particular faiths*, or the *particular* civil institutions of communities, do require.

The king is supreme in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters. *Kings* are justly denominated the *vice-gerents* of the *Almighty*: they ought to be such; not in a loose and indefinite sense, but as the *watchful guardians* of those laws, on which not the *temporal* only, but the *eternal* happiness of their subjects depend.

This being led down as a principle; is there any absurdity in reasoning thus? If *Jesus Christ* is our great *sovereign* and *lawgiver* under whom we obey our temporal prince; and under whom we constitute a legislative power; *can* we with consistency make a *law*, which, with regard to those for whose use the law is more particularly intended, *favours* an opposition to the acknowledgement of that sovereignty? It is true our *Savior* says, "my
" king-

“ kingdom *is not* of this world,” from whence one would be led to think that *political institutions* are foreign to the consideration of *religious faith*; but these words are immediately explained by his saying “ If my kingdom “ *were* of this world, then would my servants “ fight,” Here then the *sword* is entirely laid aside, and all compulsive means to bring men over to the profession of a particular faith are forbidden. The whole tenor of the gospel proves the same thing. Reason, and the nature of things entirely subscribe; but still, as the *same* gospel, and the *same* reason and nature of things, made very material distinctions between those who *did*, and those who *did not* believe in *Jesus Christ* as the *Messiah*, a *strong* reason may be drawn from hence to divide *christians* from *Jews*, in *temporals*, as well as in *faith*.

This argument is indeed of a delicate nature; but we have hitherto acted entirely agreeably to it. We have not yet *naturalized* any people but *christians*, except in *one instance* to which I shall speak hereafter. If this reasoning appears too abstracted for real use, perhaps a little reflexion will render it familiar. It hath this on its side, that all *christian nations* have ever *acted*, and do con-

tinue to *act* agreeably to it. But it is not the *christians* only ; I believe that *every nation* under heaven, establish a principle by which their *faith* and *temporal government* walk hand in hand. The religious wars which have frequently happened both in *Chriftendom* and amongst the *Mabommedans*, prove that a very *bad effect* may arise from a *good cause*. By fixing their attention on themselves, they have *deviated* from their own principle, and *forgotten* that mankind have an equal right to freedom of mind, however each particular government *may*, and *ought* as I have already said, to *unite* their *faith* and *politics*.

How far *naturalization* may be considered as an *incorporation* with the community, both in a *civil* and *religious* light, in this nation, may be deduced from hence ; that the *laws* have hitherto enjoined the receiving the *Lord's Supper*, as previous to *naturalization* : it hath been esteemed as a *badge of honor* as a *christian*, and a *protestant* ; and as a *token of fidelity to the state*. If it is seen in *any other view* at present ; I am afraid it is the result of a *refinement*, which is *less safe*, as well as *less intelligible*.

Can

Can the *law* in question take effect without blending *judaism* with *christianity*? Some affinity will be created by *naturalization*, more than existed previous to that compact. This I say must be in *circumstances* if not in *essentials*. I confess I am not able to separate *circumstances* from *essentials*. Perhaps it will be a dangerous refinement to attempt their separation even in *argument*. But that which may be done in *discourse*, cannot be brought down to the standard of common apprehensions, and reduced to practice. The world in general is governed by the *modes*, *circumstances*, and *externals* of things, as well as by their more *essential distinctions*; and *this* seems to be one of those cases, of which the *modes* and *circumstances*, may, for want of *nice distinctions* become *essentials*.

All our *laws* are supposed to be agreeable to, and nothing contrary to the *christian* religion. Is it according to that religion, to make a *law*, which upon the principle here laid down, removes one distinction between *christian* and *jew*? A *law*, the tendency of which cannot be of an indifferent nature; which promises *no good* to us in a religious light, and may produce *great evils*. It is very plain, notwithstanding

standing the *din* of popular clamor, that this *change* is of so *delicate* a nature, that many who think *well* and *much*; as well as those who *judge ill*, or do not *think at all*, are much alarmed. Many a serious man who is not so *low* as to be governed by *prejudice*, and *party-passion*; nor so *high*, as to consider *politics* independant of *religion*, trembles at the tendency of this law. The *Jew* himself, as he sees very plainly, that we act upon principles of *policy*, and as considering *religion* out of the question, whether *we mistake*, or not, he will most assuredly think dishonourably of *christianity*. When he sees us acquiesce in what himself would blush to perform, in similar circumstances, *will it* encrease his respect for us? He may say *it will*; but I should much doubt his honesty, or his veracity. But this is very clear, that if he has a due regard to his *own religion*, the notion of *naturalization* is what himself would *despise*, as more inconsistent with the nature of the *jewish constitution* to *accept*, than it is of *ours* to *grant*. What has been said by a very *shrewd* person of the *jewish* faith, "That the *naturalization* " was asked in *folly*," seems to be a tacit acknowledgment of this assertion.

As

As to the *Jews* being converted to *christianity* by this indulgence, it is an argument in favor of *the naturalization*, if it could be proved : but shall we prostitute *christianity* in hopes of making *converts* to it? *Experience* has taught us what we are to *expect* in this light. It was said of old, " If they *believe* not "*Moses* and the prophets, neither will they " be persuaded " though one rose from the " dead." And we may say, " If they are " not converted to *christianity* by the gentle " *treatment* and *indulgences* which they have " met in this country, neither will they " by *naturalization*."

With regard to ourselves; whilst *religion* sets *very light* upon us, as I am afraid it does at this time, there are certainly much *stronger reasons* to banish the most *distant reflexion* on a thing of this nature, than ever to call to remembrance, that *Jews* are made by *law*, *members* of a *community* which is *christian*. By a *transposition* of the words, and neglect of distinctions which may be easily mistaken, the *Jews* may at length be considered, as admitted to be *members of our christian community*. The thing itself is a *contradiction*, but still I say it may be the *cause* of great *confusion*.

In

In this case, it is *very plain*, that we either commit *a violence* on our religion, or leave it *entirely* out of the question : neither of which, I apprehend, ought to be. If the argument involves us in the least difficulty, we are sure of this ; that the great *end* of our politics being the security of our *liberty*, and *religion*, every law of a *dubious* tendency, if it is not *absolutely necessary*, ought to be considered as *dangerous*.

With regard to the connexion of *church* and *state*, we find that on account of a small deviation from the *established church* in some circumstances, rather of a *ridiculous*, than of a *serious nature*, an act * was passed, which is adhered to *very tenaciously*. However convenient it may be for *one side*, or *both*, to suffer the distinction to remain, is not my business to enquire. Much may be said with regard to our *fellow-christians* and *fellow-protestants* ; but if *any thing* can be said in favor of the *Jews*, it is so subject to misconstruction, that no one *dares* to appear in their behalf, with regard to any indulgence which *christians* might warrant ; lest whilst he pleads *their*
cause

* Test-Act.

cause, he should *abandon* or *seem* to *abandon* the *cause of christianity*. This I deduce from there having been *nothing* yet addressed to the public in a serious manner, by any one of those ingenious persons, who in a *general view* plead for the *naturalization* in question.

It is by no means consistent with the honor of divine providence, judging as men, to imagine, that although we are not warranted, either by *scripture* or *experience*, to believe that the *Jews* are admitted to *incorporate* with other nations, whilst they remain *Jews*; that they are not to be *converted*, and *united* one day with the *christians*, as *christians*. As they *believe* in *God*, it may be hoped they will *believe* also in *Jesus Christ*, as the true *Messiah* and *redeemer* of the world. It will certainly be no reason to a *Jew* to profess *christianity* merely because he is *naturalized*; but if he becomes a *christian*, it may give him a *title* to *naturalization*. Would to God they already possessed *that title*, that we might receive them into our bosoms! Our *characteristic* is *humanity*: Our *inclination* I hope will never be wanting in the duties of *hospitality*. As *christians*, we deplore the *blindness* of these

unhappy men, in hopes they will *one day* see their error; and that the *king* and *lawgiver* whom they *fondly* expect, is indeed the *Messiah* whom they *crucified*.

But there is *yet another reason* which I confess strikes me most. If the *dispersion* of the *Jews* is a standing monument of the *truth* of the *christian* faith: if *that dispersion* is owing, as, in some measure, it doth appear to be owing, to those distinctions which *all nations* have observed towards the *Jews*, the *naturalization* proposed must *wound* christianity, in proportion as it *weakens* that distinction. And in proportion as we throw any *additional power* into the hands of the *Jews*, whom we know to be *constitutionally indisposed to christianity*, if not actual scoffers at it, we *hurt* the cause of *christianity*.

I hope it will be clear to the wisdom of the legislature, that it is more easy to *prevent* than to *cure* an evil; and as this doth *now* appear, to be one of those *laws*, the observance of which can do no *great good*; but the abolition of it may prevent *great mischief*, that it will soon cease to be a *stumbling-block*.

To conclude this chapter, I have only to add, that although we are *extremely benevolent*, we are also *extremely lukewarm* and *inconsiderate* with regard to our *religious interests*. This, I say, is the *fashion* of the *times*; and therefore the *naturalization* of the *Jews* appears to me a *dangerous* step, since *that very benevolence* may be converted into a *crime*; and whilst we flatter ourselves into a belief, that we *act as good christians ought to act*, we may abandon those rules of conduct, without which there can be no religion *at all*.

C H A P. IV.

*The antient state and condition of the Jews,
particularly in England.*

THOUGH the *constitution, customs,* and *manners* of this nation, are so very *much* and so very *happily* changed within these two or three centuries: though we generally incline to think ourselves no ways behind our ancestors in *wisdom* and *knowledge*; yet I cannot help observing that we show such a reverence to antiquity as to *look back* to the days of *ignorance, superstition, and barbarity*.

city of manners, to learn what ought to be our conduct towards the Jews at this time. Laws are sacred things; but the customs and manners of nations are of no less moment to the security and happiness of strangers, who are not incorporated with the people among whom they live. But whether with regard to laws or customs, we find the state and condition of the Jews, as much mended, as we are ourselves improved. If we look back to past times, we find the Jews in England, much in the same circumstances, as they are now under Mahomedan governments: or, as they are under those states, who think the persecution of these unhappy people, a christian duty.

It is true the *Jews* had their privileges and protections, but they paid *very dear* for them: they were also subject not only to have these annulled, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign, but their effects were often seized, and severe mulcts imposed, for the liberty of breathing the common air. Thus they were as much under the harrow amongst us, as they had been in other countries in more distant ages.

After

After their banishment from *Judea* by *Titus*, the emperor *Claudius* drove them also from *Rome* *. In 615. they were driven out of *Alexandria*, and in the two following years from *Spain*. In the beginning of the seventh century they were banished from *France*. Near the close of the 12th century, bishop *Everard* expelled them from *Mentz*, and *Philip Augustus*, as they were at this time re-established in *France*, banished them a second time. The crimes of which they were accused, we shall have occasion to mention presently.

With regard to their *reception* in this nation, the most antient *Jewish* charter, is said to be given by *Henry II.* to a *Jew* of *Lincoln*, where, as well as in *Oxford*, they were settled in considerable numbers. It is related,
 “ That in the reign of *Richard I.* the *Jews* of
 “ *Norwich*, *Bury St. Edmond’s*, *Lincoln*, *Stam-*
 “ *ford*, and *Lynn*, were robbed and spoiled:
 “ At *York* five hundred of them, besides wo-
 “ men and children, took refuge in the cas-
 “ tle, where they offered money to the *chris-*
 “ *tians* to save their lives; but being refused,
 “ they cut the throats of their wives and
 “ chil-

* This was 430 years after Christ.

“ children, and cast them over the walls on
 “ the *christians* heads ; then burnt the castle
 “ and themselves in it. In the following
 “ reign, king *John* commanded *all the Jews*,
 “ men and women, to be imprisoned, be-
 “ cause he would have all their money. Some
 “ of them delivered up *all* they had, and yet
 “ promised more, to escape many kinds of
 “ torment.” This prince however granted a
 charter, for the support of *Jews* who em-
 braced the *christian* religion ; and they were
 permitted to settle in the most populous towns.
 But how *reluctant* the people were to the en-
 tertainment of them, in those days, appears
 from a *grant* made by *Henry III.* to the in-
 habitants of *Newcastle*, that no *Jew* should
 be permitted to inhabit their town.

In the 37th year of *Henry III.* it was pro-
 vided, under pain of forfeiting their goods,
 “ That no *Jew* should remain in *England*
 “ without doing the king some service ; and
 “ that there should be no schools of *Jews* in
 “ *England*, except in such places where schools
 “ were wont to be in the reign of king *John*.
 “ That all *Jews* in their synagogues should
 “ celebrate with a loud voice. That every
 “ *Jew* should be answerable to the rector of
 “ his parish, for all parochial dues charged on
 his

“ his house. That no christian should suckle
 “ the child of a *Jew* ; nor any *christian* man,
 “ or woman, serve any *Jew* or *Jews*, nor eat
 “ *with*, nor abide *in* their house. That no
 “ *Jew* should have a secret familiarity with
 “ a *christian* woman ; nor any *christian* man,
 “ with a *Jewish* woman. That no *Jew* or
 “ *Jewess* should eat or buy flesh in Lent. That
 “ every *Jew* should wear a badge upon his
 “ breast. That no *Jew* should enter into any
 “ church, or chapel, unless in passing to and
 “ fro. That no *Jew* should hinder another
 “ *Jew*, who was willing to turn *christian*,
 “ And that no *Jew* should be suffered to abide
 “ in any town, without the king’s license ;
 “ except in towns where *Jews* were formerly
 “ wont to reside *.”

In 1250, this prince accused the *Jews* of
 clipping money, and found no less than three
 hundred guilty ; forty of them were hanged,
 and the rest bought themselves off. Indeed
 the extortions on these unhappy people run so
 high, that this prince, and his successor *Ed-ward*
I. in the space of seven years, extorted
 no

* These regulations seem to be founded on the canon or
 pontifical law, which is still for the most part observed in
Rome, and in several other parts of *Italy*.

no less a sum than four hundred and twenty thousand pounds. In the year 1291, *Edward I.* banished no less than fifteen thousand of them at one time. He confiscated all their estates, and left them only just money enough to bear their charges to carry them away. Notwithstanding these severities practised in this nation, pope *Innocent III.* gave the *Jews* a particular tolleration in *Rome*, in hopes of converting them to christianity: but they were at length expelled by him also, under this character, *mus in pera, serpens in gremio, & ignis in sinu.*

It is very hard to judge how far the *Jews* might be criminal, to draw upon themselves such treatment. *Derision* and *contempt* of our *Savior* was indeed imputed to them as one of their greatest crimes. Defacing the coin of *Christendom* drew on them a general *odium*, though many a *christian* has been hanged for the same fault. As to their illegal correspondence with *christian* women; in those *unfashionable days* the laws considered it as the highest offence. If it was now chastisable with us as it is among some *christian* nations, they would be subject to mulcts and corporal punishments; whilst the *Mahomedans* with regard to *their* women, and according to *their* laws,

laws, condemn the *Jews* to death, unless they become *Mabommedans*. The stealing and crucifying *christian* children was a crime imputed to them: how far the bigotry and inhumanity of some might lead them, is difficult to say, but it is hardly credible that this should have been a general crime, and that their whole nation should suffer for it. Usury, forgeries and other species of iniquity were also laid to their charge, as if they really were in *general* more guilty than the *christians*; or that the superiority of the *christians* over them, rendered the *Jews* more obnoxious to punishment, than the *christians* were among themselves.

The stories related of the *Jews* do however prove, that *they* were very wicked in those days; or that the *avarice*, *ignorance*, and *barbarity of manners* of our ancestors, were not much inferior to the *infidelity* and *immorality of the Jews*. It is certain that after residing here two hundred and thirty years, they were banished, and kept out for three hundred and sixty-four years. In 1655, they had again a re-admission into *England*, in consequence of a treaty between the usurper *Cromwell* and *Manasseh Ben Israel*; they were again restored to their worship in this country. These are the outlines of the *Jewish* history. How

wonderfully things are changed in their favor will be the subject of the sixth chapter.

C H A P. V.

The present state of the Jews in most parts of the world except England.

LET us now consider in what esteem the *Jews* are held at this time in other countries, and from the comparison teach *them* what to *ask*, and *ourselves* what to *grant*. If we travel into *Asia* we shall find that although the *Mahommedans* act upon a very different principle from the christians; the *Jews* are often treated, as if they had no title to enjoy the *rights* of our common humanity. It is indeed among their states, as it is with the *christians*, according as the respective governments are conducted upon the principles of justice and equity.

In *Persia* the *Jews* are poor and contemptible. In *Turkey* they are more important with regard to their commercial connexions; but still they are frequently fined with great severity. In *Barbary*, where they are settled in considerable numbers, they are treated with such gross indignities, that no *Jew* dare lift

up his hand against a *Mabommedan*, even to defend himself, or to protect his bed from violation.

From *Russia* they are totally expelled, not for their virtue we may imagine: though the political views of that nation are *more* contracted; and their toleration of religious opinions, *less* indulgent than *ours*. At the same time we must do the *Russians* the justice to observe, that they show great marks of favor, even in a religious light, to *christians* of almost every denomination. How often the *Jews* have been threatned in *Austria* and *Hungary*; late years have furnished us many authentic reports; and during the late war were actually expelled from *Bohemia*. The *Genoese* will not tolerate a *Jew* in their territories *; whilst in the *pope's* dominions, at least at *Avignon*, no strange *Jew* is suffered to enter the town, without paying a *toll*, the same as any parted hooffed beast. At *Rome* they are permitted to live, but they have their separate quarters, and are not suffered to intermix with the inhabitants.

G 2

* " Since the first edition of this work, I find it is a vulgar error, that *Jews* are not permitted to live in *Genoa*.
 " It is true they are in a very low state, and the keenness of
 " the *Genoese* will probably keep the *Jews* in that state, but
 " they have their synagogue."

habitants. The same is also practised at *Venice*.

I have heard it advanced in favor of the naturalization in question, that in *Tuscany* the *Jews* are permitted to buy lands. If this is true, which I do not believe, the only remark I can make on it, is, that it is some alleviation of their misfortunes in being thus persecuted in every quarter.

How they are treated in *Spain*, as well as in the *American* dominions of that monarchy, we are well informed from accounts of the terrors of the inquisition. No native *Jew*, notwithstanding the great numbers supposed to be in that country, can make open profession of his religion, unless he has a mind to be burnt. In *Portugal* the name of a *Jew* is a term of such high reproach, that a man being called *Jew* * to his face, if he stabs the offender, the laws do not condemn him. The reason is plain, since to be called a *Jew*, implies a suspicion of his being such; and that suspicion may afford sufficient cause for the inquisition to lay hands on him. To enter into a detail of their treatment in that country is unnecessary; since it is well known to all the

* *Judeo.*

the world, that the *Portuguese* cannot bear the name of a *Jew*, and consider it as a *christian duty* to wage perpetual war with them.

If we now come back to *Holland*, and consider it as a country of commerce, freedom, and toleration of religion, still I never heard of such a thing as the naturalization of a *Jew* in the *United Provinces*. On the contrary, the *Dutch* are zealous of supporting a distinction; and to guard their own people from any encroachments of men whose faith is opposed to christianity*. They confine the
Jews

* Upon the late persecutions in *Prague* the *Jews* flocked over to *Amsterdam*, in such numbers that the *Dutch Jews* petitioned the *States*, that their brethren might be sent back to seek some other settlement as they were in no capacity to support them. As to the state and condition of the *Jews* in the *United Provinces*; it is generally computed that their number in *Amsterdam* is not less than twenty thousand; the half of which do not know when they rise in the morning, how they are to find bread for the day. They lately petitioned the state that the bread which is given by *rich Jews* in charity to the *poor*, might be exempt from duty, but it was refused, from an apprehension that any *partial law* of this nature would occasion a tumult among the common people, and expose the *Jews* to their resentment. The *Jews* in this country, though they may buy houses and land, have not the liberty of working *publicly* as mechanics. They are con-
vinced at indeed when they work *in secret*. Neither can they keep open shop for any handy-craft trade; but I understand
that

Jews to a particular quarter of *Amsterdam*, the same as is practised in almost every great city in *Europe*, where *Jews* are permitted to reside, though not so strict as in *Italy*, and some parts of *Germany*. In *Amsterdam* there are some eminent merchants of the *Jewish* faith, but they are by no means considered in any respectable light. It is said they may buy land : but what privilege is it to purchase land-estates in a country where such estates are not worth any thing ? In what little esteem these people are in *Holland* may be deduced from this, that any *Jew* who has illegal commerce with a *christian* woman, is subject by law to be *publicly whipped*; and in fact they are often fined instead of suffering this infamy *.

In *Poland*, and some parts of *Germany* there are a great number of *Jews* settled : but how *little* are they *regarded*, or rather *how much*

that butchers, grocers and such like, are permitted in the *Jews quarter*, but no where else. There is no law to confine the *Jews* to a particular quarter; but, so far from being naturalized, they are looked upon in so ill a light, that they find themselves contemned when they attempt to mix with the inhabitants of the city.

* The *Hollanders* are not very delicate in regard to brothels, since it has been found the policy of the state to allow of them under certain limitations, for christians.

much are they *despised* ! What their employment is, and of what use they are in those countries, we shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter. In short let us look round us on every side, and we still behold the *Jews* excluded, even under the least desirable governments, from every thing that can possibly bear the *name* of naturalization. And such marks of distinction are fixed on them, as if providence had intended, that *no christian might ever behold a Jew, without calling to mind his redeemer, and the truth of the religion he professes.*

But as the conduct of the *French*, that polite and ingenious, as well as commercial nation, has engaged our *particular attention*, we must answer to what is advanced with regard to them, as exactly as possible. It is suggested that the *French*, for these two centuries past, have practised that *very rule* of conduct, which is designed for the proposed naturalization, extending their indulgence to the *poor*, as well as to the *rich Jews*.

“ In 1550, *Henry II. of France*, by his
 “ letters patent declares the *Jews* capable to
 “ purchase, inherit and enjoy *real estates in*
 “ *France, Comme de vrais Regnicoles, et sujets*
 “ *de*

“*de Roi. Henry III. in 1754; Louis XIV. in 1656; and Louis XV. in 1723, and 1728. renewed and confirmed this privilege, Sans que les Juifs soient tenus de prendre aucunes Lettres de Naturalité.*” These words might lead the wisest into a mistake. That the *Jews* are true and faithful subjects to the king of *France* no doubt can be made; and as to the latter words, which may be construed, “without the *Jews* being bound to take out their naturalization;” it seems to me an artful way of *refusing* their naturalization instead of *granting* it. Under this notion of *indulgence*, the *French* do in fact *treat them* with very little tenderness. Ask a *Frenchman* if a *Jew* is naturalized in *France*; he will laugh in your face for making so absurd a supposition. It is said, that during the regency of the duke of *Orleans*, the *Jews* in *France* did offer *two millions of Livres* for their naturalization; but this prince, however great a libertine he might be, either thought the thing absurd, and inconsistent, or too *unpopular* to be attempted.

The *Jews* are indeed received as merchants in *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne*; but they are confined to spot, and not considered as having

ing any title to that politeness, and affection, which the *French* shew to one another. In *Lyons* they are not permitted to reside above three months, and pay *toll* at the bridge, the same as a parted hoofed beast. I have heard it said that in *Alsace* as a conquered country, they are permitted to hold lands, under particular limitations and restrictions; but even this is very doubtful. In the three bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, being the frontiers towards *Germany*, the *Jews* have a particular indulgence as merchants, but enjoy no privileges in any other light, more than they do in *Germany*.

From the whole tenor of the conduct of the *French*, one would be led to imagine, that they doom it a gross absurdity in *politics* as well as *religion*, to suffer the *Jews* to spread themselves through their country. So far from receiving them into their bosom, I am assured that only *one Jew* is permitted to reside in *Paris*, as a representative of all others of his faith in the *French* dominions. No other *Jew* is permitted to remain in that city, without entering himself in the *Police*, and then only during forty eight hours*.

H

strange

* *Jews* are permitted to reside in *Paris* upon shewing their passports; they may obtain a licence for three months, which
licence

strange *Jew* doth remain there a longer time, it is in a presumption that he shall not be enquired after.

Now, if I am not grossly misinformed, and if the conduct of the *French* government is really such as I have related, and that it is also deemed of sufficient weight, to be a rule to us; it is very clear, that we are not to naturalize the *Jews*. Moreover it will appear from the concurrent practice and opinion of all nations, civilized, and uncivilized; learned, or ignorant; in slavery, or freedom; *Mahomedan*, or *Christian*; that providence hath to all appearance placed a *bar*, an impregnable bulwark, against the *Jews* being incorporated with any people under the heavens, in any such *manner* or *degree*, as the notion of *naturalization* doth imply.

licence may be renewed for three months longer, but only one *Jew* is permitted to reside there without such particular leave and permission.

C H A P. VI.

The great indulgencies shewn the Jews in England, no argument for their naturalization. State of their condition as denizens, in consequence of royal charters, and the indulgence of the crown.

WE have already explained from indubitable facts, that the *Jews* are in a state of persecution, in a greater or less degree, in every quarter of the world. Little need be said to prove, that they are so far from being *persecuted* in *this* country, that they are *highly favored*. In all estimations of happiness we are to consider, not so much what men *do enjoy*, as what they *do not suffer*. To what tax, mulct, or other expensive burthen, are the *Jews* subject in this country, more than the *Christians*? to what indignity are they exposed? it is a plain argument, that the indulgence shewn them has hardly *any bounds*, or they certainly never would have *asked* for their naturalization. Happy *Israelites* of our time, who bask in the sunshine of our benevolence! I hope the warmest of their opponents mean them no harm; but we neither *love*, nor *respect* them to that degree, as to

endanger *our own* preservation, or that of *our posterity*, on their account. We would not be willing that the purity of our religion should suffer any stain; the honor of the nation be contemned; and what affects us intimately as merchants, that our *reputation and commercial connexions abroad* should suffer any prejudice.

The happiness of the *Jews* is so much the more distinguished in our opinion, when it is remembered, that upon the principles we now argue, neither the *laws* of nations, nor the *laws* of humanity *are*, or *can be* more strictly observed towards them, by any people, than they are by us. Happy it is for them, that as no *real* form of government is so admirably modelled as ours; they can no where enjoy so great *security* of their lives and properties. This security seems to have *lulled* them into a supine neglect of themselves. They have either forgotten, that they *themselves* are *Jews*, or that *we* are *Christians*: but they would do well to consider what *have been* the effects of an *overweening* confidence.

It is recorded that “*William Rufus* encouraged the *Jews* to enter into disputation with the bishops; and swore by the face of
“ St.

“ St. *Luke*, that if they got the better he
 “ would himself turn *Jew*.” The historian
 adds, “ the *Jews* grew so insolent upon this
 “ encouragement, that they openly derided
 “ the *Christian* religion. However they soon
 “ found their mistake, and were forced to
 “ leave *London*, and fly for shelter. Many
 “ of the *Jews* became so terrify’d, that two
 “ hundred of them were converted to *Chris-*
 “ *tianity*, in one day, at *Dunstable*.” What
 sort of *Christians* they were we may easily
 conclude; but from hence we are taught that
 any union, or appearance of union between
Christ and *Antichrist*, cannot with safety be at-
 tempted. The *Christian* is instructed not to
 transgress through a false notion in politics,
 or a false zeal in religion. The *Jew* is yet
 more strongly admonished, not to be the fool-
 ish occasion of his own misfortunes.

The *Jews* themselves are certainly most
 deeply interested to behave with that mode-
 ration, which is best calculated to support
 them in the establishment, which they have
 acquired in this country. I thought in the
 beginning of this affair; I declared my opi-
 nion, and am still constant to it, that the pri-
 vilege at which the *Jews* now aspire, might
 hereafter become one of the chief causes of
 their

their persecution. God forbid that a spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm, should ever prevail in this nation! But whether it is from a *good* or a *bad* principle; if the conduct of the *Jews* should at any time give offence, their naturalization, if such should take place, will to all appearance raise the higher indignation, in the breasts of their persecutors. In the mean while, they are giving alarms to those foreign nations, who are their constant and avowed enemies.

Whatever advantages they might receive by naturalization, it is very plain they never can be *incorporated* with us, whilst *they* remain *Jews*, or *we*, *Christians*. They do not *desire* to be *incorporated*: but is it not *highly reasonable* to believe that they propose to themselves a considerable augmentation of their influence and power, in this nation, by means of naturalization? these people who are so attentive to their worldly advantages; can it be *conceived*, or *imagined*, that they would take so much pains for *nothing*? They have either put themselves, under the guidance of men of very narrow capacities; or, what is more probable, they do flatter themselves, with the enjoyment of *greater advantages*, than are generally allowed, to be the natural

ral result, of the naturalization proposed. And why did they in the time of *Cromwell*; and likewise in the reigns of king *William*, queen *Ann*, and his late majesty, solicit for their naturalization, if it was really of no consequence to them? To *reason* upon this principle, is, as if we imagined, they were ignorant of *their* interest, or *we* indifferent about *ours*.

Let us now consider some of the reasons which induced the legislature to proceed thus far. As to the power which the *Jews* have, or *have not*, by law, I do not conceive that the *force* of the argument *rests* upon it. Whatever *laws* there are in *being*, if they can be proved to be injurious to the community, ought they not to be *revoked*?

The debate has afforded us an opportunity of learning what the greatest part of our merchants had either forgotten or never known, *viz.* that the *Jews* are already naturalized by an act of 1740, at least “that those *Jews* “ who have already resided in the *American* “ colonies, or who have served as mariners “ during the war, two years in *British* ships, “ are become natural born subjects of *Great-Britain* without taking the sacrament.” It

may now be asked how that bill came to take place? The considerations which *affect* us *now*, certainly did not *affect* us *then*. But this is no argument against those, who *now* apprehend the proposed naturalization will be injurious in its consequences. The inclinations of a people, consequently the *laws* of a *nation*, *differ* extremely, at *different times*, and perhaps in no country more than in *Great-Britain*. As the case now stands, there seems to be *strong* reasons to repeal *that act also*; much *stronger*, I apprehend, than to throw any *additional power* into the hands of the *Jews*. *Indeed if it is just and right to repeal either, the same reasons will hold good for both.*

Let us examine now the political arguments made use of by moderate people, who have declared for the naturalization of the *Jews*. "Why should not," say they, "the father enjoy what the son already possesses?" "The latter when born in his majesty's dominions, is a natural-born *Englishman* and "free to purchase lands." I apprehend they mistake the matter, and that there is no such thing as a natural-born-*English Jew*. As to our appeal to the records of *Henry the 2d.* with regard to their purchasing of lands, I
be-

believe it will amount to no more, than a permission granted for that purpose by a royal charter. We find the *Jews* totally expelled this kingdom from 1291 to 1655. I know not how far lawyers may deem this expulsion a revocation of such charter; but surely it can be no ways obligatory to us, any otherwise than as we find it convenient. Perhaps if we search the thing to the bottom, we shall discover, that the *Jews* were only made *Denisons* by that charter; and I am told there is a very material difference, between a *denison* and a natural-born subject. A *denison*, as I understand, cannot legally inherit land by descent; but particularly a *Jewish denison* does not enjoy this privilege *, or I am grossly misinformed. Indeed no opposition has been made *in our time*, to such inheritance, nor do I apprehend there will. I have heard a *Jew* complain that as the law now stands, his brother's estate to which he is legal heir, devolves to the crown, thereby tacitly acknowledging the *mistaken notion* that a *Jew* born here is a natural-born *Englishman*. Whether any thing

I

can

* We find a certain great *Jew* was so sensible of this, that he holds his estate by a particular act of parliament, by which *he* had a liberty to purchase by its being granted to *another* to sell it to *him*. Besides, this *Jew*, if he is a *Jew*, has the wit to bring up his children *christians*.

can consistently be done in their favor, supposing this to be the case; or whether any thing is *necessary to be done*, we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. Be this as it may, it by no means invalidates one single argument against the proposed naturalization.

The truth is, that the *Jews* have always *been*, and perhaps always *will be*, in a great measure dependent on the clemency and justice of other nations; and their greatest security must depend on the constitution of that government, and the moral character of the people, with whom they reside. We do not find that since their *modern establishment* among us, which is now of one hundred years standing, they have been *once molested*. The tenderness and equity of the present government have, without doubt, afforded a very strong reason to the *Jews*, to believe that the favor of naturalization would be granted them; and perhaps *no time* would be more proper than this, when our notions of policy are so much enlarged. But as *unlimited speculations* in politics, may be as ruinous as narrow and contracted opinions; *some restraint*, are certainly *necessary*. In the mean time the *Jews* have the highest reasons to thank God, for the *good* which they enjoy. If they
grow

grow jealous of us, and are not contented ; there is just grounds to suspect, that instead of a virtuous acknowledgement of the dispensations of providence, they are intoxicated with indulgences which have been shewn them, by the government of this country : indulgences *by means of which* they have acquired many great fortunes ; and *which* they now safely enjoy. May their conduct be such as always to entitle them to that enjoyment !

C H A P. VII.

Of the number, employment, riches, and poverty of the Jews. The impropriety of their possessing landed estates. The absurdity of the right of disposing of church benefices.

WE come now to view the present state and situation of the *Jews*, from whence we may deduce, that their naturalization is *improper*, or *unnecessary*.

The number of the *Jews* is very differently reported : some have made them only six hundred families, containing two thousand souls. The *Jews* themselves have of late pretended that their number is ten thousand,

agreeable to what was mentioned by one of the merchants, at the bar of the house of commons, and which was not contradicted. However, the nearest computation, I apprehend to be seven thousand; and yet the number of opulent families, do not exceed twenty, the half of which number are merchants. The next set of people in rank are brokers, and they hardly exceed forty. With regard to trade, they are what a trumpeter is in the army. They are by no means respectable in themselves, nor are they deemed the most honorable in their profession; but I am willing to think they are of use, because they are frequently the occasion of setting other people to work.

Next to these come a train of *hawkers*, and *pedlars*, and *traffickers* in every *imaginable* commodity, in every *imaginable* way, but very few in *that* which is deemed *regular*, *honorable*, and according to the ordinary rules of civil polity. In this general list, we must include those who buy, and sell stolen goods. Gentlemen who have been curious in their remarks, observe that many second-hand things, exposed to sale by the *Jews* in *Flanders*, are of *English* manufacture. It ought not to be imagined that these are *all stolen*, since they *buy*
great

great quantities, in what is generally called a *fair way*. In the light of *itinerant pawnbrokers*, and purchasers of that which the seller ought not to dispose of, a late complaint of the university of *Cambridge* may be urged in proof, that such kind of wanderers are oftentimes detrimental. As to the *qualities* of the goods which they *vend* up and down the country; the complaint made against them, seems to carry with it a reflexion on the understanding of the *buyers*; we will therefore pass it over, as not essential to the present argument.

Now if the calculation of their numbers just mentioned, be true, the proportion of their *poor* must be very great. It is said in their behalf, that as the *necessitous* are maintained by the *opulent*; the former are rather a *benefit*, than an *injury* to a state: but this I apprehend is not true, for the reasons mentioned in my first chapter. It is rather a diminution of the merit of the *Jews*, that their *poor* are really a *burden* to a nation. They serve for little more than to raise the price of provision to the industrious laborer, from whose shoulders they take no part of the burden. These poor are indeed supported by the funds of their synagogues, arising from
the

the taxes imposed on their people, by their elders; and by the offerings made at the time of prayer in their synagogues, and on all other solemn occasions. Thus far they act with equal policy and humanity; since if the *Jews* were permitted to beg about the streets, as the *christians* most *impolitically* and *unchristianly* are suffered to do, they would necessarily bring such a disgrace upon their fraternity as would expose them to many pernicious consequences.

There are some few ingenious men among the *Jews*, physicians, as well as merchants; but their number in *this* country is exceeding *few*. Among the lower classes of the people, however great their poverty, they are naturally, or by custom, averse to labor. Their religion cuts them off from commerce with the rest of mankind, and I cannot discover that they learn any *art*, or practise any *manual labor*. They are of no use in agriculture, or manufactory; neither will they serve us in our army, or navy. Notwithstanding this, it is highly reasonable to believe, that under a notion of being put on the footing of natural-born *English* subjects, many *Jews*, in very despicable circumstances, will flock over to us. They know that wealth is to be

ac-

acquired in this commercial country ; and considering what their morals and fertility of invention in acquiring riches, generally are, it is probable that under the countenance of naturalization we should soon have an encrease of *Jews*, though they should be masters of no more money, than just to pay the expence of naturalization. Some of them, no doubt, would have the expence borne by their *rich friends*, since the *more Jews* are naturalized, the *greater* will be the weight and influence of *Judaism* in this country ; and the more opportunities they will have of assisting each other. We see already, that in all cases where the pecuniary interest can receive any accumulation, or additional strength, they cling to us with all the fondness imaginable.

Thus it does appear, that *this country* may really become to them *an asylum*, in a sense which *no other country* has yet been, since their *dispersion*. Is this the thing intended by the legislature ? If it would advance our *political interest*, without wounding our *religion*, liberty, or commerce, every good subject ought to subscribe to it.

But our *immediate view* has been to the *rich Jews*, in hopes of partaking of *their wealth*

wealth, in consequence of *their commerce*, and
 other connexions with us. Here I must beg
 leave to observe, that the act neither *doth* or
can confine the naturalization to *such persons*,
 unless it could establish an *inquisition*, to ex-
 amine if a *Jew* is *rich*, or *not*; and require
 security, that he shall not alienate his wealth;
 the supposition of both which is ridiculous.
 The reasons which first gave occasion to the
 proposed indulgence of the *Jews*, were these.
 " That it would probably bring an addition
 " of men and money into the kingdom; and
 " as these would tend to the general advan-
 " tage, the favor could never be understood
 " to be confined to the *Jews*, in prejudice to
 " ourselves. That a number of *rich men*
 " might flock over to us, and the natural ef-
 " fect of such an acquisition, would be an
 " increase of commerce." It has been urged fur-
 ther, " That we have two millions of *Jewish*
 " property in our funds, great part of which
 " belong to *Jews* residing in *foreign parts*,
 " who consequently contribute nothing to-
 " wards the support of our government; but,
 " on the contrary, lay out their interest in ad-
 " ditional stock, and increase the mortgage
 " upon us; whereas the expedient of natu-
 " ralization, might induce such *Jews* to leave
 " the continent, and come into this island, in
 " order

"order to spend the produce of their stock
 "amongst us."

As to their possessing a sum of two millions in our funds, considering that they are seldom reconciled to so low an interest for their money; It is much to be doubted whether this be a fact. I have heard of *one Jew* who has two hundred thousand pounds in our stock, and only *one* who makes any figure in that kind of wealth. The riches of these people have certainly been represented much greater than they really are. I have already observed, that there are not in *London* above ten *Jew* houses of business of any great note, and that their men of fortune do not exceed the like number. But these people have a peculiar art of magnifying their wealth, and from thence derive a credit, which they employ to the enriching of themselves, under a notion of promoting the national service. How few of those *Jews* who are masters of estates, have really *brought* them into this country! and of those who have *acquired* them *here*, it might be well asked to which of them the nation is really indebted? It is the *manner* in which private property is acquired, that constitutes the augmentation of the *national stock*, at least in this country.

K

I know

I know of *some Jews* who have traded themselves into poverty ; and yet have done more real benefit to this nation, than *others* who have acquired *great fortunes*. If we consider the injurious practice of jobbing in stocks, and the supplying national demands by our submitting to the means of extortion, no doubt can be made of the great abilities of the *Jews*. But in this instance I think they are rather to be *dreaded* than *caressed*. The support of this nation I hope will never depend on *such instruments*. If it is not the inclination, or interest of our own merchants, and money-holders, to support the public credit, upon any exigency ; what deplorable circumstances must we be in ! We all know that it was the interposition of our own merchants, which prevented the execution of a *Jewish project* during the late war, which must have involved this nation much deeper in debt.

But of all the reasons which have been advanced in favor of the *Jews*, *nothing* was represented in a stronger light, in the beginning of this affair, and yet, I think, *nothing* is of so dangerous a tendency as this. It was said, that if the *Jews*, under the authority derived from naturalization, should purchase land, the value of our lands would be enhanced

in proportion to the sum which should be brought to market for that purpose; and that in proportion to the *value* of our lands, must the *opulency* of the nation necessarily be.

People under the circumstances of the *Jews*, should ever be employed in pecuniary affairs, and not in laying money out in land. They are useful *as merchants*, as we shall shew presently; but *inconvenient* if not *dangerous* in the light of landholders. A merchant compared with a gentleman of a great landed estate, is in a *certain degree* of inferiority. Commerce is the *source* from whence the splendor of this nation arises. The gentlemen of estate in land is the *spring* from whence the channels of trade are supplied. But as there ever will be frequent occasions in which a higher principle must prevail than mere self-interest, his zealous affection for the community, or his indifference towards it, must raise or depress us as a free nation; consequently in proportion as our common interest is changed, or the attention of many opulent subjects diverted by other objects (and who can expect the same regard from a *Jew* as from a *Christian*?) the effects, though not immediately felt, must in the course of time be *very pernicious*.

The *reason* which is urged in their behalf, "That the *Jews* cannot purchase our estates, "unless we have a mind to sell them," is, I think, a *bad reason*. The dissolute manners of many who have been masters of very fair patrimonies, have led them into the necessity of disposing of their estates. We know not what opportunities may offer in the revolutions of time, for the *Jews* to become possessed of great estates in land. If the power of purchasing them is *granted*, the consequences of such an indulgence are to be *dreaded*. If it should be the case with half the island to change hands; and the estates were purchased by our own moneyed people, though it left the *Jews* the only merchants in the land, it would certainly be much better, than that a *Jewish* landed interest should predominate. The *Jews*, like fire and water, I am willing to think, are *good servants* in a *commercial state*; but they are very *improper masters* for a *free people*. I grant that neither our *religion* or *government*, are in so tottering a condition as to afford any *immediate cause of fear* of our being *supplanted* by naturalizing *Jews*. To suppose that such naturalization would in a *direct view* supplant us, might be deemed *querulous* if not *factionous*: but are we not to regard

regard remote consequences ; and *consider future ages with the same pious zeal as our ancestors have considered us ?* The truth is that our lands are already very valuable, and the evils we labor under, such as arise from causes of a very different nature ; the admission of *Jews* may render these evils *worse*, but cannot possibly mend them.

It is not, I apprehend, the desire and intention of the legislature that *Jews* should *buy our lands* ; but only that they should bring *their riches* into this country. But as an inducement to bring *such riches*, a naturalization is proposed, in virtue of which they will be legally empowered to buy estates. Now we all know, that the love of ease is natural to mankind ; and that there is a certain period of life, in which men of fortune, *Jews* as well as *Christians*, are generally inclined to realize some part of their wealth. Would not such *realization* be either dangerous or inconvenient ? *dangerous* in the light I have already mentioned ; *inconvenient*, inasmuch as every sum which is laid out in land, must be taken out of trade ; *and this is the very thing which the legislature would not encourage.*

Will

Will any one pretend to say that our landed estates would be better in the hands of *Jews*, than in *our own*? Will the *Jews* teach the common people such a moral, or religious conduct, as *ought to be expected* from *Christians*, and *men of education*? if they will not, so far as the happiness of this country, depends upon the good order of the people as *Christians*, so far we lose by suffering a *Jew* to buy an estate.

I have already mentioned that it is practised in the great Cities where *Jews* reside, to appoint them certain quarters distinct from the rest of the inhabitants. Under such circumstances, it is not to be imagined they can make any great impression on the minds of the common people: but give them power to purchase land by virtue of their naturalization: let them be dispersed through this country, and become masters of many landed estates: let them be the only persons of weight in several towns and villages, remote from the capital: leave the common people who inhabit such places, without the *example, influence, or protection*, of any man above their own level, except a *Jew*; I confess it makes me tremble to think what the consequences of such

such a step might be. I do not believe that such people would become *Jews*, because a *Jew* has too much policy to attempt making proselytes; neither do I think that the *Jews* would become *Christians*; but such common people, whose religion already sits light upon them, might soon give it up entirely.

I must repeat, that although the effects of such measures should not be immediately felt; yet there is the highest reason to apprehend, that we should suffer much more by the exchange of the *English* country gentleman, for the *foreign*, or *native Jew*; than we could possibly gain by the acquisition of *those riches*, by means of which estates may pass from the hands of *Christians* into those of *Jews*.

It may be further asked, whether it is true policy to admit of any kind of foreigners as land-holders, who will not fight upon an emergency, in defence of their possessions. I know not upon what authority it is said; but I have been told, that a *Jew* will not fight in defence of a *Christian* country. We have some of *our own sectaries*, whose principles do not allow them to take up arms; but whatever may be necessary with regard to *them*, it does not seem consistent in a *free*
coun-

country, to give a man the possession of a landed estate, which he will not draw his sword to defend. In enquiries of this nature, every thing which can be said on either side of the question, is not therefore necessary. Upon the whole, the impropriety of the naturalization appears in a very strong light.

But there are reasons, derived from a more direct and intelligible policy, at which I have already hinted. The indulgence of the *Jews* to purchase estates, must divert them from the pursuit of trade; tho' at the same time we know, that in this light only they are useful. I have known a *Jew* in *Portugal*, who had been twice in the inquisition, and twice deprived of his estate; and yet for the third time he accumulated a considerable fortune. This could not have been possible, had he vested his money in land. The *Jews* in *Poland* and *Germany*, I apprehend, are not admitted to any privileges, but what simply regards their commercial intercourse, either among themselves, or the natives of the country. In the light of *merchants, farmers of the revenues, brokers, pedlars*, and such like, they are of great service; but the lands, particularly in *Poland*, are held by the nobility and the clergy, who lend their money to the
Jews

Jews, at the enormous interest of eight or ten *per cent*. Would the *Jews* be able to pay such an interest, were they *diverted* from trade through any *encouragement*, or even *permission* to buy land? on the contrary, would not the *Jews* become in some measure the equals of the nobility and clergy? or for want of commerce, they would either not have any money *at all*, or the value of it would only regard the price of their own consumptions.

As to our withholding from the *Jews*, a right of *purchasing*, or *inheriting* any *benefice*, *ecclesiastical living*, or *school*; the thing speaks *so much for itself*, that *nothing* need be said for it. Would there be a grosser absurdity in the nature of things, than that a *Christian* ecclesiastic or teacher, should be dependent on a *Jew* in a *Christian country*? we might indeed submit to this, if the *Jews* were become *our masters*; but not whilst *we* are *theirs*.

C H A P. VIII.

Political reasons against the naturalization of the Jews, with regard to their immoral character, and the temper of our own people.

DO we stand bound by any law of *natural right*, to give the *Jews* their naturalization, because they *ask for it* ? we ought to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us ; but in the case before us, the *Jews* ought to prove their right to demand their naturalization, before we grant it. Were they to require our jewels and plate, should we therefore give them, as the *Egyptians* did of old ? divine providence did then interpose in *their* favor, and I hope the same providence now interposes in ours. There is certainly no reason for our acquiescence, founded in the general character of these people : If we have *usurers, extortioners*, and men of other professions, of immoral lives amongst ourselves, it is rather a reason, why we *should not* naturalize *Jews*, than why we *should*. I am afraid the *Jews* are in general an immoral people ; and more the children of this world, than the *Christians* are. The sober sensible *Jews* do acknowledge this ; and I believe it will be found,

found, that their *wickedness* as well as their *faith*, have often exposed them to persecution. This appears to me a *very strong reason*, why we should not receive them into our *bosoms*; and it ought to be a *reason to them*, to be very careful of their conduct, among those foreign nations, with whom they are permitted to live; whilst the humanity and justice which prevail in this country, afford them the most ample favor and indulgence.

Immorality, and a vicious self-love, are vices very prevalent among us; but I hope in a similar case to this before us, *we* should talk a very different language, from that which is spoken by *some of the Jews*. It was suggested that their countrymen *abroad*, would be *exposed* to difficulties, and not improbably *distressed*, on account of this very indulgence at which they aspire. But they, eager to grasp the present advantage, answer coolly that it *might* be so: indeed it is more than probable that it *will* be so. Now, if in a national light, men are devoid of the impulses of humanity, or of love for their own country-men, what regard can they have for strangers? if the consideration of a present interest, leads them not only to neglect the welfare of those who were lately their fel-

ow-citizens, but even to run the hazard of exposing them to misery ; what gratitude or affection can *we* expect, who profess a religion of which *they* are bred up in the strongest abhorrence ?

But to wave the consideration of a point, in which *Christians* as well as *Jews* are often guilty ; let us acknowledge that there have been illustrious examples of virtue and piety among the *Jews* ; examples which would have placed them in the rank of *Christian* heroes, had they been inspired with the same *glorious principles*. There are good men of all the different faiths under heaven, and we ought to believe, that there are several men of great probity among the *Jews*, in this country. There is one *Jew* merchant in particular * whom I have often heard mentioned with great honor ; his charity and other moral virtues, seem to flow from that spirit of humanity, and universal benevolence, which
God

* A gentleman of great probity and honor assures me that he has received the highest proofs, that I do no more than justice to the character of the *Jew* here alluded to, by name *Benjamin Mendez Dacosta* : and this gentleman can hardly be suspected of partiality, since he was one of the warmest opponents of the naturalization ; and tho' upon the principles of humanity and charity, he is a well-wisher to the *Jews*, he is also very constant to his opinion, that they ought not to be naturalized.

God originally implanted in the minds of men. The virtues of this *Jew* might make such *Christians* blush, whose power is equal to *his*; and yet their inclination and practice bear no similitude.

Indeed in these latter times, as most *Christian* nations are *improved* in their manners; the *Jews* are also less wicked than they were. The better sort of them disdain those practices, which have often rendered the people of their faith obnoxious to punishment. If we consider the moral precepts of the *Jewish* religion, tho' they are not so refined as those prescribed by *Christianity*, yet we plainly see that there are *very good men* amongst the *Jews*: But still these people are not inspired with the same principles as the *Christians*.

We are apt to consider the *Jews* as vagabonds and wanderers, but *they* boast themselves of being a *separate people, the chosen of God*; and I will be bold to say, that for this *very* reason, every *good man* among the *Jews*, must either disapprove of this attempt, or be distressed how to reconcile it. The notion they suck with their milk is, that they are a *great nation*, and all mankind usurpers of their sovereignty. This consideration

deration reconciles their pertinacious adherence to the religion of their forefathers; and invalidates their claim to mix with any other nation: and it doth seem as if providence interposed in a very singular manner, that they *should* think so, and that the *politics* as well as the *religion* of all other nations, should thus oppose the naturalization of the *Jews*.

As to what concerns the temper of our own people, it may be observed, that as the word *Christian* is frequently made use of among the *vulgar*, to express the *idea* of *man*; so when a *Jew* is spoken of, among those who are not conversant with the people of this faith, they *hardly* associate the *idea* of *man*. Thus the consideration of our common humanity, is in some degree excluded. Tho' the manner of expressing their repugnance to this naturalization, may argue their *unpoliteness*; yet as the experience of all ages seems to prove, that no union of this sort *can* or *ought* to be made, so far this repugnance may as well be deemed providential, *against* them, as the passing the bill is *for* them.

God knows we are more disposed to quarrel about *this world*, than to give ourselves much concern about *that which is to come*,

We are more inclined to put up our consciences to sale, than to renounce any *paultry* pecuniary advantages : but still a minister must be a *bad* man, as well as an *unable pilot of the state*, who supposes there are not *good men* in the nation ; therefore we may reasonably conclude, that as we are very far from being unhappy in this instance ; but on the contrary, that peace, tranquillity, and the general welfare are the objects pursued, no just occasion of offence will be given, that may disturb the consciences of those who *mean well*, at the same time that if *there be* any such, those who *mean ill*, may be subdued by the arts of lenity and moderation.

C H A P. IX.

The naturalization of the Jews not consistent with the commercial connexions of this nation in foreign countries.

THE merchants who appeared against the bill, laid no small stress on the apprehensions they entertained, concerning our *foreign commercial connexions* ; particularly with regard to the impressions, which the *Portuguese* will probably receive of us. It is true we might challenge them for supporting

porting of an inquisition, as well as *they* us for naturalizing *Jews*. But as these people do *bate* the *Jews* out of measure, for the same reason as we would *love* them out of measure, that is, beyond our former practice, or the custom of any other nation, *we also* may become the objects of their hatred. As the case stands at present, we must be considered as *heretics*; yet we are esteemed such *moral heretics*, and have such regard to the propriety of our behavior among them, as to be in almost every instance preferred to those foreigners, who profess the same religion as themselves. Besides, their commercial and political interest exactly coincide with ours: they are our friends and entirely attached to us; but doth it follow they will be always the same, let us act in ever so different a manner to what we have hitherto done,

It is the nature of mankind to *love* others, in proportion as they act agreeably to their humor and inclination; and to *bate* them as they deviate from this rule. *Experience* already in *some degree* evinces the truth of this principle in the very case before us. If we should really naturalize the *Jews*, I am morally certain we shall decline into a very contemptible reputation in *Portugal*. But however the propriety

priety of the reasoning *with regard to public affairs* in general, may be disputed; I suppose it will be granted, that in our commercial connexions, we should have a *certain regard* to the genius of a nation, on whom an important branch of commerce depends. As we strive to adapt *our manufactures* to the taste of a people with a view to their better reception; so far as is consistent with the nature of our constitution, we ought to adapt *our manners* also. I do not mean, that it is true politics to submit to any servile compliances, but to avoid any *change* in our customs, hitherto agreeable, or not offensive to our neighbors, when the *good* expected by such *change*, is not equivalent to the *risk* we run.

As a mercantile nation, policy doth then call us to be tender what steps we take in a *matter so peculiarly circumstanced*. When all the nations of the world consider the *Jews* as a separate people, by a necessary consequence of the *Jewish* religion; if we naturalize them, shall we not appear *abroad*, as if we made our religion subservient to our politics? And if we *should* thus appear; shall we not suffer a diminution in their esteem? But this is most clear and indubitable; that the *credit* and *reputation* of one nation with another, in

a commercial view, and particularly with regard to those subjects who reside in foreign countries, have a great analogy with the *credit* and *reputation* of a private merchant with other traders. When there is any extraordinary circumstance in the conduct of such private merchant, which is extremely offensive, he will certainly loose some degree of that respect which he found very serviceable, if not *essential*, to the conduct of his business. And if we put it in the *worst* light, he will secretly be undermined, and his situation rendered intolerably uneasy.

The *Portuguese* being blended with many natives, who are *Jews* in their hearts, have for some ages acted towards them with that severity, as if a *toleration* of *Judaism*, would bring on a total *subversion* of *christianity*, in their country. The jealousies which arise on this account, are almost as great as those which regard their women; and both together render them, in too many respects, unsociable; and consequently, the less improved in their learning and manners. How extremely careful they are, of any mixtures of the *Jews*, appears from this; that those who are *new christians*, or supposed to be converts to *christianity*, are not admitted into any office, 'till certain evidences are given of the *purity* of their blood; that

that is, that they must have passed through, I think it is, above sixty removes, since their parents were known to be *Jews*. We have hitherto been considered by them as *untainted*; and though this reputation hath not been of any material use with regard to the enjoyment of offices, yet it certainly is of service in our commercial capacity. The ignorance of the common people in that country is such, that they have sometimes been induced to enquire very seriously, “ *if the English are Christians?*” Was the naturalization proposed to take effect, the question would be changed, and they would ask, “ *are not the English Jews?*” The *humorous intimation* that surgeons are already gone to *Bellem** to examine the *English* who arrive there, to see if they are circumcised, seems to carry with it something more than a mere jest. It is indeed probable the inquisition would often suspect, that under the cloak of being *English christians*, *English Jews* would come into their country to transact business. However absurd the foundation of such jealousy might be, those who know any thing of the *Portuguese* will easily believe, that from being the most *beloved*, we might by so extraordinary a step become the most *despised* nation.

M 2

It

* The entrance into the port of *Lisbon*.

It is probable the *Portuguese* will also consider us as establishing a law, with a view to *entice rich Jews* out of *Portugal*. I do not know that any number of *rich* men of that faith have at present any existence among them. If there *are* any such persons, to be anxious upon the subject of their coming over to us, is as little *consistent* with the *honor* of this nation, as the naturalization proposed, is *unpromising* of any *advantages* to us. They know if they *do* come here, they will be received under the protection of the most *free*, and most *generous* government in the world. What more do any of the *Jews* aspire at? And as to those who are already settled here; what more than they *really enjoy*, can they *reasonably ask*?

But if the reader should imagine that this is little more than the *cant* of a *Portugal* merchant; let him remember the great affinity between the genius of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*. Both these states are at perpetual war with the *Moors* on account of religion. And the *Spaniards* in particular cannot support a religious war against the *Infidels*, with more warmth than the *Portuguese* against the *Jews*. How far the former carry their resentments,

ments, we have a recent instance in their conduct towards *the Hamburgers*, who were absolutely obliged to *abandon their treaty* concluded with the *Algerines*; or to *abandon all commerce with Spain*. How far *political reasons* might interfere, or the *Spaniards* might judge it proper to *give laws* to so *impotent* a state as that of *Hamburg*, need not be insisted on. It doth appear that their resentments arise, in a great measure, from the *Hamburgers* making a *peace* with the enemies of the religion of *Christ*, with whom *they* never will have *peace*.

C H A P. X.

The Jews considered as merchants, the only light in which they can be considered as advantageous to a christian state.

THE measures proposed by a legislature, though they should not quadrate with the inclination of their constituents, are most assuredly entitled to a *dispassionate examination*, and respectful treatment; and this is preparative for that composition, which it is sometimes *necessary* to make, in similar cases.

There

There are some men of great probity and experience in this island, who are inclined to the opinion that it would be much better for this nation, if there was not a *single Jew* in it. This opinion is founded in a presumption that the commerce these people carry on, might be better conducted by our own merchants. How far this may be true, I will not take upon me to enquire. There are several reasons why we ought to shew *our good* will to the *Jews*, as *merchants*. Our present scheme of politics is generous: we have long considered the *Jews* as merchants, and as such have treated them with indulgence. The great object in view with regard to the proposed naturalization, is the promotion of commerce; and so far from *depressing* the *Jews*, their opponents never meant to deprive them of any weight in their commercial capacity; but rather to keep from them every temptation, which might divert them from so useful a pursuit. This must be evident to all the world; therefore whilst the *Jews* remain *Jews*, the least return they can make to us, is that of a modest deportment.

Whether

Whether it arose from an opinion the *Jews* had conceived, that they should advance their interest, by boasting of their importance with regard to their wealth and extensive commerce; they certainly found means, to make several persons of most eminence in this kingdom, believe, that their riches and trade are much more *important* and *extensive* than they really are: when they had carry'd their point so far, some idle expressions dropt from them, as if their abilities as traders were superior to those of our own merchants. An imputation of this sort is too *ridiculous* to deserve any *serious* animadversion. The *Jews* from the necessity of their situation, are traders. Success has crowned the endeavors of some of them; they are remarkable for going *great lengths* upon the force of credit; but they are not *equal*, much less *superior*, in skill to our own merchants. Several of them have traded *ry* largely upon small capitals, in consequence of which bankruptcies have ensued, and great losses have been sustained by our own people. This consideration however is of a *private nature*, and entirely dependent on the prudence of individuals; but whilst the *effect* may, upon the whole, be serviceable to the nation, the *motives* upon which the *Jews* act,

act, do not entitle them to any panegyric. If their trading boldly is deemed *an actual proof* that they are useful to the state; it must be also considered as a presumptive argument, that it is the *interest of the state* to keep them to their merchandize; which, from what hath been premised, I do humbly conceive, may be accomplished with more ease and consistency, *without* naturalization, than *with it*.

If in this light *as merchants*, it could be proved that the qualification for naturalization is consistent with our general interest; yet it is very remarkable, that those who appeared most in favor of the *Jews*, do not so much as *pretend* that they know of any *one rich Jew* who will come here from any foreign country, upon the force of it. Men in circumstances to answer the purpose of the legislature, are not numerous in any country: and if we consider families *established abroad*, conversant with the customs and languages of a people; if we likewise consider countries, where provisions are much cheaper than in our metropolis, it is more probable that the naturalization proposed would bring here the *worst* rather than the *best* kind of *Jews*.

Whether

Whether any distinction in favor of the *Jews* as *merchants*, beyond other foreigners who are not naturalized, ought to be granted, is a circumstance we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. The *Alien's* duty is of some consideration in the calculation of a *large trader*. I do not imagine however, that this small impost hath prevented any *wealthy Jew* from coming into this island; consequently the taking it off will be but a small temptation to such *Jews* to leave the continent; yet perhaps it will surprise the *advocates* for the *Jews*, when they consider that this is the only circumstance which is wanting to put them upon a par with the natural-born subjects, considered simply as *merchants*. If the *Alien's* duty then was yielded up to them, they would enjoy the *substance*, without hurting us in any greater proportion than the sum which such *Alien's* duty usually amounted to. And if the *number* and *riches* of the *Jews* should augment by any encrease of their trade, which the legislature will expect as the natural fruit of this indulgence, the deficiency will be made up to us, and the general interest advanced.

I believe it will be universally granted that the *Jews* are faithful to the state: indeed their security, and protection, are intimately concerned in their fidelity. So long as they continue as they are, I am willing to believe, they will be useful in the *character* of *merchants*. As their *circumstances* naturally lead them to this employment, the consideration of those *circumstances* has long procured them protection in several of the polite nations of *Europe*. Riches, which are the chief objects the *Jews* have in view, can be most easily acquired by commerce. *As merchants they desire* to be countenanced. *As merchants we desire* to countenance them. If it is a fact that the *Jews* do *acquire* riches, and are *secure* in the enjoyment of them; how came it to enter into the hearts of themselves or of any of their advocates, that we exercise a severity towards them, in not admitting them to the *full enjoyment* of *all* the immunities of natural-born-subjects? It is true we are fellow-citizens, and commerce is the link by which men are united in love. This is the mutual interest which ought to subsist between *Christians*, *Jews*, *Mabommedans* and *Pagans*; so long as commerce is conducted with integrity, it must produce a connexion and harmony, such as

con-

constitutes an universal common-wealth, among the whole race of mankind.

C H A P. XI.

Difference in opinion, no reason for animosity amongst fellow-citizens.

AS to the different opinions which have prevailed among ourselves, they are a consideration of a distinct nature, on account of which the *Jews* ought not to receive any *good* or *harm*. We are under a wise and free government; we have constituted a legislature, to this we *ought*, to this we *must* appeal, as the arbitrator of differences.

Several merchants of importance, with no small number of packers, dyers, and tradesmen, did sign a petition in favor of the *Jews*; from whence it hath been inferred, that the naturalization proposed is a right measure, as it *may*, or, as they say, “*will encourage persons of wealth and substance to remove with their effects from foreign parts into this kingdom; the greatest part of which, agreeably to the experience of former times, will be employed by them in foreign trade and*

“commerce, in encreasing the shipping, and
 “encouraging the exportation of woollens,
 “and other manufactures of this kingdom;
 “of which the *Jews* have for many years ex-
 “ported great quantities.” Many of the mer-
 chants were doubtless of this opinion, but
 neither of the petitions, *for* or *against*, creates
 any difference in the weight of the argu-
 ment, as the *case* now stands.

The applications made on this occasion may
 however instruct us in one material point,
 that the genius of this nation is, to be either
 too much *asleep*, or too much *awakened*. Ex-
 tremes are very dangerous. The efforts of
 passion do however sometimes operate more
 effectually, than the calmer dictates of reason,
 and we see the most *beneficial designs* brought
 to a happy issue, by means not consistent with
 wisdom. It is very clear that neither the *voci-
 ferations* of *some*, nor the *mistaken zeal* of *others*,
 do enervate the force of the argument *against*
 the naturalization. We should desire rather to
 convince the understandings of men, than to
 inflame their passions, and return to our cool-
 er deliberations, without regard to private in-
 terest, or party-zeal. If the *voice of the peo-
 ple* can, with any propriety, be said to be the
voice of God, it is only when that voice is *free*.

I now

I now take the liberty to say, that the freedom of voice was most in favor of those who petitioned against the naturalization. The connexions of some of the petitioners in favor of the *Jews* are very obvious; therefore, without calling their *probity* in question, they must be *supposed* to lean to the side of their interest.

The petitioners *against* the *Jewish* naturalization, were not only more *numerous*, but more *important* in point of fortune. I know several of them who are men of great probity, and possessed of very large estates; and, what is more, friends to the administration, and in good correspondence with the *Jews*.

Differences in opinion ought by no means to create the least animosity among fellow-citizens, they should rather mutually gratulate each other, on the common liberty of declaring their sentiments. There is an equal right on the *one side*, to give their opinion in favor of the *Jews*, as on *the other* to argue against them. There are certainly many honest and sensible men on both sides the question. As to the *riches* on either side *, I look
on

* I mention this particular though it may appear foreign to the subject, because the petitioners against the naturalization were thought to be of no great weight in the light of men of fortune.

on it no more to the purpose than the maintaining that he only can have the *best* of an argument, who is *richer* than his antagonist.

Since it is confessedly the *union of the whole*, which gives strength to the *parts*, it is most clearly our duty upon the principles of self-love, to cultivate a good understanding among ourselves. At the same time we ought to consider, that it is the *freedom* of our government that makes our minds also *free*; and that very *freedom* almost necessarily creates a variety of sentiments. As free-born subjects, we should study the art of rendering the different opinions of individuals, productive of the firmer establishment of the community. For this reason I was sorry to hear it proposed, to publish a list of the subscribers of the petition against the *Jews*. What doth it avail, who were *for*, or who *against* them? If it was a *wrong* measure, it may be presumed that it will not take place. Those who can support their opinion, must *thank God* that they did *judge right*; and those who were *mistaken*, be *equally thankful* that their mistake has not produced an evil consequence.

To *oppose* the execution of a design which is contrary to a man's principles, or his notions
of

of good and evil, is as different from an *opposition* founded in a party-zeal, (especially towards those who compose a legislature) as *light* from *darkness*, or as concord founded in reason, from faction, and an impious contempt of laws. Abstracting from the coercive power vested in lawgivers, there is a *reverence* due to them, which a *free people* can never violate without injuring *themselves*. Where the liberty of *remonstrance* is permitted from the very nature and essence of a constitution; the greater care ought to be taken, to conduct such remonstrance with propriety. When the liberty of declaring our opinion, is not restrained by such considerations, it is apt to degenerate; and that which was originally the produce of *sentiment*, of *generosity*, and *public love*, may become mean and servile; instrumental only to *faction*, or productive only of those low party views, against which it was at first directed. In *general* our *corruption* has warped our *understanding* as well as our *affections*; but there is yet a great deal of virtue and good sense in this nation; and consequently we *can* differ in sentiments, and yet support a good correspondence among *individuals*.

Further, though the doctrine of unlimited submission is dangerous in some instances, liberty will droop and languish when a legislature is treated with disrespect. A free people necessarily constitute themselves the judges in dubious cases; but every well-wisher of his country, will reflect very seriously on the importance of supporting the authority and dignity of the government, before he opposes his constituent; lest the *remedy proposed* should, for want of order, become worse than the *disease*. There are many instances, wherein remonstrances from *without doors*, serve to whet up men's wits *within*. If a business happen to be of a doubtful nature, and gives occasion to people *without doors* to animadvert; such business will necessarily become the better understood *within*: but these cases should not happen often. If a spirit of opposition is not directed by a just distinction, and is defective in that wisdom, which teaches us when we are under a *good*, and when under a *bad* administration, *freedom* must necessarily endanger the security of *liberty*; or, in other words, *liberty* will destroy itself.

It

It is so very clear, that our common preservation depends upon our *union* and *obedience to laws*, that it may seem absurd to insist on it. Yet it sometimes becomes necessary in this nation, to remind ourselves that the spirit which leads men to restrain their passions, and to exert their reason to distinguish *good* from *evil*, is the only way of administering that *healing balm*, on which the *happiness*, as well as the *safety* of life depends.

The regard and indulgence shewn to the merchants who appeared at the bar of the house of commons against the naturalization, was such as gave me the *bighest impressions*, not only of the *excellency and happiness* of this constitution, but also of the *equity and moderation* with which the present government is conducted. What these merchants had to allege was expressed with decency, and without appearance of enmity towards the *Jews*. They were not *prepared* as they ought to have been; but this is a proof that they were not moved by any sinister motives. They expressed their *fears* that injurious impressions would be received *abroad*. Those *fears* were then considered as *chimerical*; but *experience*,

as I have already explained, has given them a *sanction*.

I hope there *was not* any set of men in the nation, who kept themselves in *reserve*, to see the issue of the affair, with a view to draw any sinister *advantage* from it. But if there *was* any such, I think I can answer for the merchants, that *they* were no part of that number. After the bill was passed into a law, they neither *wrote*, nor *spoke* factiously; I have good reason to believe this in their favor. The arguments for the proposed naturalization, did indeed appear to those merchants to be ill-grounded, leaving too great a field to the *Jews*, already *so much* favored. But in the mean time, the honor and dignity of the legislature ought to suffer no diminution, by any distinction of those whose opinion *were*, or of those whose opinions *were not* for the naturalization, lest a judgment *post factum*, should not only make pretensions to a *wisdom* which *did not exist*; or, *if it did exist*, that such *wisdom* may not become *folly*, by prostituting it to unworthy purposes.

To conclude, if any thing more is to be *said* or *done*, except r——g the a——, I hope
 2 it

it will be *said* or *done* with the same moderation and charity, as this pamphlet is written; remembring, that as the *whole* is of greater importance than a *part*: all considerations which *clash* with this principle, ought to be *absorbed*, as *dishonourable* to liberty, and *inconsistent* with the dignity of an *English* subject,

F I N I S.



